

The shamans (ipaye) enjoyed considerable prestige. When invited by a village to assist its inhabitants in some predicament, they were received with marks of great respect and were lavishly entertained. They served the community as rain makers and as doctors. In the latter capacity, they treated patients or protected the whole village against epidemics. Their curing technique followed the usual South American pattern of blowing and sucking the sick person. They retired to small cabins to communicate with spirits. Blowing tobacco smoke played a large part in the shamanistic ritual. The medicine men were expected to discover the evil charms that threatened the individual or the community as a whole. Shamans were often put to death for their failure to bring rain or to dispel an epidemic. Old women were often called to cure diseases which required the administration of drugs.

During carnivals, which, under the Bolivian influence, have become a period of wild rejoicing, young men wearing masks (pl. 44) of soft wood amuse the spectators by their antics and tricks. As the best masks are those carved by the *Chané*, it is likely that the clown interludes are survivals of dances by masked persons representing nature spirits or ghosts, such as are performed by many *Arawak* tribes. The *Chané* and *Chiriguano* masked characters collect food and depart amid the tears of old people.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Cosmogony.—The Sun is a man and the Moon is his wife. In the evening the Sun enters a river which he follows until he rises again. An eclipse of the Sun or of the Moon is caused by the attack of a "purple" or "yellow" jaguar. Everybody then makes as much noise as possible to frighten off the celestial feline.

The appearance of the Pleiades, which the *Chiriguano* call "a swarm of bees," announces the harvest season. Their yearly course serves also to reckon time. The *Chiriguano* identify Scorpio with a fenced field, in the center of which is the miraculous spade of *Aguara-tunpa*. In the black skies near the Milky Way (the road of the rhea), they see a celestial ostrich (rhea), the head of which is the Southern Cross. The Magellanic Clouds are the ashes of a fire built by a couple who went to the sky. (See Lehmann-Nitsche, 1924.)

Folklore.—Most of the *Chiriguano* folklore recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912) was obtained from a *Chané* of the Parapeti River region. The collection of myths and tales made by Métraux (1930 b) in *Chiriguano* villages shows that both groups, in spite of their different origin, share substantially in the same folklore. Certain motifs in the *Chané* version, however, have not been recorded among their ancient *Chiriguano* masters, and may well be *Arawak* traditions which have survived among them. An example is the theme, which is well known in the Guianas, of the

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756 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorceress Curers

756 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorceresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

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759 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

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682 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimulation, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

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[821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

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[885] Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

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[171] 1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

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759 The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

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304 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There
759 must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).
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2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number; superstition and nothing else.

304 The boys appear for the operation on the designated day,
881 led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious
[785] persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see
[114] and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, he orders them that it is time to give up the ú, ú in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

[195] When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] 1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the impera-
[193] tive to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

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881 In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the
304 patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages
[828] it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the
piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, be-
cause one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel
less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself
before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not
to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many
somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembete and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

[785] I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in assert-
[784] ing that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on
which the imposition of the tembete is done is a day of strict
fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha;
other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either.

[757] On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on
[824] others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to
them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame
or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the
881 hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during
which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting him-
self be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

- [759] 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembete in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

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Other Illnesses and Remedies

759 According to the illnesses that exist, there are doctors and medicines among the Chiriguano. The former have not gone through any university other than experience, learning from the latter to prepare medicines, not only from plants and herbs, but also from minerals and even from the excrement of animals. The doctors receive the praise of individuals who know less than they and are differentiated even by name from the evil sorcerers, who are called Mbaecua, while the former are called Ipaye, and the medicines or drugs are called Moa.

757 The oil that is necessarily a side product of the preparation of chicha is very good for curing headaches. Salt, ground and mixed with the urine of infants, is drunk and is a good anodyne for stomach-aches. Dampness and cold produce a tightening of the nerves, which causes atrocious pain in more /289/ than one person. To cure this disorder they pull up a branch of ulala /a cactus/, Nancagüina, strip off the spines, parch it, and, when it is good and hot, apply it to the affected parts and get well. They use something else to cure dysentery. They burn yellow maize, grind it with watermelon seed, and have those attacked by the disease drink it (1).

1. The meloncillo /little melon/ is a remedy which the whites told me about. It is more effective, but the Chiriguano have no faith in it or do not use it out of weakness.

[164] When a sick person suffers a pain in his side, he asks for a balled-armadillo shell, grinds it up, and drinks it. At the same time what is left is heated at the fire and applied to the pain, and it stops as if by magic. If measles comes out on the lips, the sorcerer or doctor applies a tick which has been taken off some dog's flesh, and thus it disappears. Sometimes tumors or a swelling in the throat and in the knees appear, and these are made to disappear through the application of the herb called Urucuna. It is heated at the fire in a small olla and applied. Another herb, called Yandurimbü, is also good for this. They